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A5
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DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 288 771 SO 018 430

AUTHOR Schiff, Elizabeth N.
TITLE A Comparison of Chinese American and Hispanic Perceptions of Communication Discrimination.
PUB DATE Feb 87
NOTE 23p.; Paper presented at the Conference of the Western Speech Communication Association (Salt Lake City, UT, February 14-17, 1987).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Chinese Americans; Chinese Culture; Hispanic American Culture; *Hispanic Americans; *Interpersonal Relationship; *Racial Discrimination; Racial Identification; *Social Bias; Stereotypes

ABSTRACT

Most studies of discrimination have been based on researchers' observations or on the perceptions of those who discriminate. Few attempts have been made to focus on the perceptions of the victims of discrimination. A comparison made between the direct perceptions of Hispanic Americans and those of Chinese Americans, both of whom are victims of discrimination in the United States, shows the similarities and differences that exist between the two groups. This study may offer insights into patterns of interpersonal conflict between each of these minorities and the white majority. (Author/AEM)

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A COMPARISON OF CHINESE AMERICAN AND HISPANIC PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNICATION DISCRIMINATION

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Paper presented at the annual conference of the
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February 14-17, 1987

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ABSTRACT. Most studies of discrimination have based their findings either on researchers' observations or on the perceptions of those who discriminate. Few attempts have been made to focus on the perceptions of the victims of discrimination. This study, however, bases its findings on the direct perceptions of two minorities, Hispanics and Chinese Americans, who are often subjected to discrimination by the White majority in the United States. A comparison is made between the perceptions of Hispanics with those of Chinese Americans. Awareness of the similarities and differences that exist between the two groups may offer insights into patterns of interpersonal conflict between these minorities and the White majority.

INTRODUCTION

A Chinese American colleague related the following incident to me:

> When I was first accepted into the graduate program at San Francisco State to get my degree in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL), I went to a department reception for teachers, graduate students, and foreign students who attended the school's American Language Institute (ALI) program. At the reception a White graduate student came up to me and we started making small talk. He asked me what I was doing and I said I was in the TEFL program. He replied, in exaggeratedly simplified and overly enunciated English, "No, no, you misunderstand. That's not possible. The TEFL program is higher up. You must mean the ALI program.

Is this a case of discrimination based on racial stereotypes, or is it simply a matter of mistaken identity with good intentions? The answer to that question probably lies in who you ask. If the White graduate student tells you that the only reason he assumed the Chinese American was a foreigner was because most of the ALI students he has encountered at San Francisco State are Chinese, does that mean that the Chinese American's feelings of mistreatment are not real? What if the reverse were true, that the White graduate student had intentionally been condescending, but the Chinese American did not interpret the statement as offensive? Would this be any more or less a case of discrimination?

The above incident serves to illustrate that ethnic discrimination constitutes a two-way communication process wherein to be complete, intentions by the source must be interpreted by the receiver. To be fully understood, discrimination should be examined from both the perspective of the discriminators (those who discriminate), and the perspective of the discriminatees (the victims of discrimination). Yet a review of existing literature reveals that most studies either examined discrimination solely from the point of view of the discriminators, or they relied upon researchers' observations of the discriminatees (Allport, 1954; Berry, Brewton, and Tischler, 1978; Brislin, 1981; Ehrlich, 1973; Levine, 1972; Marin, 1984; McLemore, 1983; Rose, 1981). There is clearly an absence of material available on the perceptions of the victims of discrimination.

Other researchers have addressed the issue of perceptual differences between various cultural groups (Brislin, 1981; Oddou, 1984; Triandis, 1964), as well as discrepancies in communication styles and satisfaction (Hecht, 1978 and 1984; Kagan, 1982; Triandis, 1984). None of these studies, however, dealt directly with the perceptions of the discriminatees. Recently, however, a study co-authored by this researcher entitled "Hispanic Perceptions of Communication Discrimination" explored the concept of perceived discrimination, labeling it communication discrimination (Korzenny and Schiff, 1986). According to the authors, communication discrimination includes the following two components: (1) the perceptions of the discriminatees, and (2) discrimination, defined as being treated differently from societal norms in an offensive manner.

In an attempt to explore the various aspects of communication discrimination, Korzenny and Schiff identified four dimensions of communication discrimination: (1) contexts in which discrimination is perceived to occur; (2) attributes perceived as eliciting discrimination; (3) types of discriminators; and (4) types of behaviors which are considered discriminatory. In the Korzenny and Schiff study, these four dimensions were examined in terms of Hispanic perceptions of discrimination as perpetrated against them by Whites.

The Korzenny and Schiff study was followed by a similar study involving Chinese Americans (conducted by the present author) entitled "Chinese American Perceptions of Communication Discrimination" (Schiff, 1986). Aside from focusing on the behaviors, contexts, ethnic attributes, and types of discriminators which influence Chinese American perceptions of discrimination (by Whites), the Schiff study also examined other aspects of communication which might influence communication discrimination, including communication satisfaction, communication apprehension, and perceptions of the media. In addition, the Schiff study compared many of the Chinese American perceptions of discrimination to those of Hispanics (revealed in the earlier Korzenny and Schiff study).

The purpose of this present paper is to explore this comparison between Hispanic and Chinese American perceptions of discrimination. Two specific research questions guided this

comparison: (1) Do the various types of contexts, discriminators, attributes, and behaviors differ in their relative importance between Chinese American and Hispanic respondents? and (2) Do types of contexts, discriminators, and attributes influence Chinese and Hispanic perceptions of discriminatory behaviors (in general and in particular) in different ways?

The comparison between Hispanic and Chinese American perceptions of discrimination should offer insights into whether patterns of perceived discrimination are etic (common across groups) or emic (particular to each ethnic group). Such knowledge may provide clues to differences in various interpersonal conflicts between Whites and Chinese Americans, and between Whites and Hispanics.

METHOD

Detailed explanations of the methodologies used in both the Hispanic and Chinese American studies can be found in each paper respectively.* For the purposes of the present paper, The following summary should suffice.

Sample Population

The sample population in the Chinese American study included one hundred forty-six self-identified Chinese American respondents, while the Hispanic study included one hundred twelve self-identified Hispanics (both drawn from the San Francisco Bay Areas). Both groups were over the age of eighteen and had resided in the United States five years or more. The five-year residency requirement was to ensure adequate time for respondents to have had sufficient interactions with Whites in a variety of situations upon which to base their perceptions. Only respondents fluent in English were surveyed. Although this excluded many members of the Chinese and Hispanic populations, it served to further ensure that the samples were not restricted to a strictly Chinese-speaking or Hispanic-speaking milieu, but had interacted with the dominant English-speaking community.

In the Chinese American sample population, 41% were male and 59% were female, compared to 48% male and 52% female in the Hispanic study. Sixty percent of the Chinese Americans were born outside of the U.S. while 44% of the Hispanic population were foreign-born. The average number of years Chinese American respondents had lived in the U.S. was twenty years, compared with twenty-five years for Hispanics. Average respondent ages were 29 years old for Chinese Americans and 34 years old for Hispanics. The modal level of annual income for Chinese Americans was between $20,000 and $30,000, while that of Hispanics was between $15,000 and $20,000. The modal level

*For copies of these studies, write to the author, c/o San Francisco State University, Speech Communication Dept., 1600 Holloway Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94132.

of education completed was two years of college for Chinese Americans while for Hispanics the modal level of education was high school, trade, technical, or vocational school. (Although discrepancies are noted between the income and education levels of the Chinese American and Hispanic respondents, these discrepancies are in keeping with United States Census Report average figures for the State of California.)

Survey Instruments

Both studies based their survey instruments on in-depth qualitative pilot interviews. The instruments differed, however, in that the Chinese American study was based on self-administered questionnaires distributed in person, while the Hispanic questionnaires were administered over the phone.

In both studies, respondents were asked four general types of questions categorized according to the four dimensions of communication discrimination: contexts, attributes, discriminators, and behaviors. For example, under the dimension, contexts, respondents were asked, "How often would you say that Whites treat Chinese differently (from the way they treat other Chinese) in an offensive manner at work?" Or, a sample behavioral question was "When Whites interact with Chinese, how often do they tell ethnic or racial jokes about Chinese?" Because, however, specific items included under each category were based on responses from the pilot studies, the Chinese American questionnaire differed from the Hispanic questionniare in its particular content under each category. All questions were coded according to four-point Likert scales representing either extent of agreement/disagreement or degree of frequency in relation to particular items under the four major categories.

Sets of variables within each of the four dimensions of communication discrimination (contexts, discriminators, attributes, and behaviors) in both studies were submitted to principal factor analyses for the purposes of possible data reduction and multiple regression analyses. Figure One below presents a list of indexes resulting from factor analyses for both the Hispanic and Chinese American studies.

FIGURE ONE ABOUT HERE

The index discrepancies between the two groups reflects not only the differences in specific content which arose from differences in the results between the two pilot studies, but also reflects variations in question format which existed between the two studies. These format differences were due to an attempt to make improvements which were considered beneficial. To better understand the comparison between Chinese American perceptions of discrimination and those of Hispanics, an explanation of the specific content of both sets of indexes is in order. 4

Under contexts, the Hispanic index public places included "work," "school," "the grocery store," "government offices," "the bank," "the doctor's office," "department stores," and "restaurants." The personal contexts index included "as neighbors," "as friends," and "as landlords/landladies." For Chinese Americans, all contextual variables loaded on one factor, creating the index, contexts. This index included the same contexts as the two Hispanic contextual indexes combined, with the exception that public places other than work and school were not itemized but merely listed together as "other public places."

In regards to types of discriminators, the Hispanic study made use of the following opposing pairs: "younger rather than poorer," "male rather than female," "with higher rather than lower education," and "rich rather than poor." Because it was felt that such juxtaposition of variables may have caused some ambiguity in data interpretation, possible discriminators were not similarly paired in the Chinese American study. The Chinese American discriminator indexes were thus itemized as follows: (1) higher SES included "educated," "wealthy," "middle class," and "white-collar workers"; (2) lower SES, consisted of "uneducated," "poor," and "blue-collar workers"; (3) youth, was comprised of "children" and "teenagers"; and (4) adults, included the single variable "adults".

For the ethnic attribute indexes, all the variables in the Hispanic study for this dimension of communication discrimination loaded on one factor, resulting in the single index, ethnic attributes, which included "skin color," "accent," "dress," "national background," "ways of speaking," and "race." The Chinese American variables, however, loaded on three different factors, resulting in the following indexes: (1) ethnicity, including "race" and "national origins"; (2) public image, including "skin color," "eye shape," "height," "ways of speaking," and "dress"; and (3) gender (male) which represented the sex of the discriminatee.

The most striking differences in indexes existed regarding discriminatory behaviors. All the Hispanic behavioral variables loaded on a single factor resulting in the index, general discrimination. This index included the following offensive behaviors as perpetrated by Whites: (1) showing little interest in the opinions of Hispanics; (2) insulting Hispanics; (3) ignoring Hispanics; (4) making fun of Hispanics; (5) making comments about the ethnic origins of Hispanics; (6) being impatient with Hispanics; (7) showing little respect for Hispanics; (8) avoiding talking to Hispanics; (9) telling ethnic or racial jokes about Hispanics; (10) talking down to Hispanics; (11) excluding Hispanics from Anglo activities; and (12) avoiding looking at Hispanics directly.

In the Chinese American study, all but one of the behavior variables loaded on three factors, resulting in the following indexes: (1) verbal insults, consisting of calling Chinese racist names, making fun of Chinese, and telling ethnic or racial jokes about Chinese; (2) alienating behavior which

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included confusing Chinese with other Asian minorities, treating Chinese as foreigners, trying to take advantage of Chinese for being "unassertive" and treating Chinese as inferior; and (3) active rejection, comprised of physically attacking Chinese, treating Chinese as untrustworthy, and making it difficult for Chinese to get job promotions. The behavior which did not load on any factor was "exclude Chinese socially" and was therefore labeled as a separate behavioral index called social exclusion.

These above-mentioned behaviorial indexes represented the general communication discrimination index against which the independent variables (such as contexts, attributes, and discriminators) were correlated in statistical analyse. The variables within the indexes were specifically worded to obtain respondents' perceptions as they pertained to either Chinese or Hispanics in general, as opposed to particular individuals, because research has shown that responses about similar others often differ from responses about oneself (Liska, 1975). But in an effort to understand how these general responses compared to responses about oneself, questions were also included in the surveys which applied specifically to respondents' personal experience.

To measure perceptions based on personal experience, in both the Hispanic and Chinese studies respondents were asked, "How often do you feel that Whites treat you differently from the way they treat other Whites?" and "How offensive would you say that being treated differently is?" (These responses were also coded on a four-point Likert scale.)

RESULTS

A comparison was made of compatible means and compatible standardized partial multiple regression coefficients. Comparisons of all variables were impossible because many aspects of the Chinese questionnaire differed from the Hispanic questionnaire. As previously mentioned, in both studies the survey instruments were based on findings from pilot studies. Due to this emic approach, certain items that were included in one questionnaire would not have been appropriate in the other. Therefore, not all items on both questionnaires could be included in the comparison.

Comparison of Individual Items

To answer the first research question (Do the various types of contexts, discriminators, attributes, and behaviors differ in their relative importance between Chinese American and Hispanic respondents?), compatible means were compared, revealing remarkably similar results. Most means were either identical or within two decimal points of each other. (See Table 1.)

TABLE ONE APOUT HERE

Contexts. The most noticeable difference was for the contextual variable "other public places" (Chinese: M=1.4; Hispanic: M=0.8). This suggests that Chinese Americans feel they are discriminated against more often in public places than Hispanics.

Behaviors. Behavioral variables were difficult to compare because only two were identical on both survey instruments. Three others, however, were considered closely enough related to merit comparison. Here again, results were similar but there was a trend for Chinese Americans to perceive discriminatory behaviors against them slightly less frequently than Hispanics.

Attributes. The highest means for both groups were for "ways of speaking," although the Chinese mean for this variable was slightly higher (Chinese: M=2.3; Hispanic: M=2.1). Both groups also had high means for "race" and "national origins." The Chinese mean for "race" was again slightly higher (Chinese: M=2.2; Hispanic: M=2.0). The lowest means for both groups were "dress" (Chinese and Hispanic: M=1.5) and "skin color" (Chinese and Hispanic: M=1.7).

Discriminators. No exact comparisons could be made between Chinese American and Hispanic perceptions of the types of persons most likely to discriminate because, as mentioned earlier in the "Methods" section, the measure of this dimension in the Hispanic study was found to be unsuitable, and was subsequently altered in the Chinese study. In the previous Schiff study, however, certain overall trends in similarities and differences between Chinese Americans and Hispanics were noted. These trends will be included in the "Discussion" section which follows.

Regression Analyses

To answer the second research question (Do types of contexts, discriminators, and attributes influence Chinese and Hispanic perceptions of discriminatory behaviors (in general and in particular) in different ways?), regression analyses were run on the Chinese and Hispanic data that lent themselves to comparison. Although in the Chinese study the variables representing discriminatory behaviors loaded on four different factors, for the sake of comparison, the data were submitted to a subsequent factor analysis with a forced factor of one. In this case, all the factors but one loaded on a single factor. (See Table 2.)

TABLE TWO ABOUT HERE

The variable that did not load on a single factor was removed and the remaining ten variables were combined to form the index general discrimination. The index representing personal discrimination (as explained in the "Methods" section) was identical in both studies. The results from the comparative regression analyses are noted below in Table 3.

TABLE THREE ABOUT HERE

To summarize these findings, it appears that contexts play an important role in the general and personal perceptions of discrimination for both Hispanics and Chinese Americans, although the public contexts "work" and "school" played a slightly greater role for Hispanics in terms of general discrimination. Chinese Americans were most sensitive to White friends as sources of personal discrimination. The only significant predictor of personal discrimination for Hispanics was "landlords/landladies," but this context was inversely related to the amount of discrimination perceived. In regards to discrimination, both Chinese Americans and Hispanics viewed White males as more likely discriminators than White females, but for Chinese Americans this was true only for generally perceived discrimination while for Hispanics it was true only for personally experienced discrimination. No significant attributes emerged for either Chinese Americans or Hispanics.

DISCUSSION

Comparison of Individual Items

As indicated in the "Results" section, it is difficult to make exact comparisons between Chinese American and Hispanic perceptions of communication discrimination. Nonetheless, general tendencies can be observed. Figure 2 below serves as a visual reminder of mean findings for Chinese American and Hispanic respondents.

FIGURE TWO ABOUT HERE

Contexts. As indicated in Figure 2, Chinese Americans and Hispanics perceive similar contexts to elicit discrimination, except in regards to "other public places." It should be noted, however, that in the Hispanic questionnaire, public places were listed separately (including grocery stores, department stores, banks, doctor's offices, restaurants, and

government offices), unlike the Chinese questionnaire which contained only the global variable "other public places." For the sake of comparison, the itemized Hispanic variables were summed and then divided to yield an average mean for "other public places." It may be that in responding to the general rubric, Chinese Americans were not thinking of the public places that yielded some of the lowest means for Hispanics, such as doctor's offices (M=0.5) and grocery stores (M=0.7). Nonetheless, Chinese American respondents had slightly higher means for other contextual variables, perhaps indicating that Chinese Americans in general are more sensitive to particular situations in their perceptions of discrimination.

Discriminators. As mentioned in the "Results" section, it is difficult to compare findings regarding Chinese American and Hispanic perceptions of discriminators because measurements of this dimension differed in each study. However, it can be noted that both groups tend to have similar impressions of persons most likely to discriminate against them. Chinese Americans and Hispanics perceive White males, younger persons, and richer individuals as key discriminators. Differing tendencies were found only for perceptions of older individuals, educated individuals, and uneducated individuals. Because of variations in measurement, however, no firm conclusions regarding these differences in Chinese American and Hispanic perceptions of discriminators should be made without further study.

Attributes. An examination of Figure 2 reveals similar perceptions among Chinese Americans and Hispanics in reference to attributes that trigger discrimination. Both groups cite race, national origins, and ways of speaking as prime elicitors of discrimination. Although as noted in "Results," the Chinese American means for "race" and "ways of speaking" were slightly higher.

For the variable "race," Chinese Americans may feel discriminated against more by Whites because they are more racially distinct. As one Chinese American stated in the pilot study:

> If you walk into a roomful of Whites, you are noticed immediately. People have certain expectations due to your physical appearance. They make you notice that they notice.

This may be particularly true for distancing forms of discrimination, as evidenced by the stronger means for the behavioral components representing alienating behavior, such as "confus(ing) Chinese with other Asian minorities" and "treat(ing) Chinese as foreigners." For the variable "ways of speaking," a higher Chinese mean may be due to the fact that

60% of the sample population was born outside of the United States and therefore had to learn English as a second language, as opposed to 44% of the Hispanics who were foreign-born.

Behaviors. Similar to types of discriminators, behaviors were difficult to compare because the variables within this index were not identical for both groups. Only five behaviors were considered adequately compatible to compare. The minor trend which emerges from this comparison is that Hispanics perceive discriminatory behaviors to occur slightly more frequently than Chinese Americans.

Differences in educational background and economic status may account for some of this perceptual variation between the two groups. Having a higher level of completed education (Chinese: M=two years college; Hispanics: M=high school) and annual income (Chinese: M=$20,000-$30,000; Hispanics: M=$15,000-$20,000), Chinese Americans may be slightly less subject to types of discrimination that are exacerbated by lower economic and social standing.

Regression Analyses Findings

Figure 3 below presents a conceptual model of how various contexts, discriminators, and attributes influence personal and general Chinese American and Hispanic perceptions of discriminatory behaviors.

FIGURE THREE ABOUT HERE

Before beginning the discussion on actual variations or similarities in regression coefficients, it is important to remember that the behavioral variables in the Chinese study loaded on four factors instead of on one, as they did in the Hispanic study. This discrepancy in factor loadings indicates divergent perceptions of discriminatory acts between the two groups. That Chinese Americans differentiated between four types of behaviors (verbal insults, alienating behavior, active rejection, and social exclusion) suggests that they are attuned to specific types of affronts as opposed to Hispanics who apparently tend to perceive discriminatory acts in a more generalized manner.

Contexts. Similar to mean findings, both Hispanics and Chinese Americans associated "work" and "school" with general perceptions of discrimination. The context "other public places" also influenced both groups' general perceptions of discrimination. This is in contrast to mean findings which showed "other public places" as primarily only influencing Chinese American perceptions of discrimination. As suggested

earlier, differences in mean results and regression results for this context are most likely due to differences in measurement for the "other public places" variable.

The context "work" also significantly influenced Chinese American perceptions of personally experienced discrimination, although this was not true for Hispanics. As revealed in the earlier Chinese study, this may be due to the link between the context "as friends" and "work" wherein Chinese Americans may feel personally discriminated against by co-workers.

The only context associated with personal discrimination by Hispanics was "as landlords/landladies." However, as noted earlier, the association was negative which indicates that Hispanics do not link landlords to personal experiences of discrimination. It may be that the "landlords/landladies" referred to are actually relatives who happen to own rental units.

Discriminators. Hispanics and Chinese Americans agree that males are the most likely discriminators, but Hispanics associate males with personal forms of discrimination while Chinese associate males with general forms of discrimination. To understand this discrepancy, it is worthwhile to reexamine the original Chinese American standardized partial multiple regression coefficients when they were broken down into four types of behaviors instead of collapsed into one. Of the four types of discriminatory behaviors, Chinese Americans associated White males most strongly with verbal abuse. More specifically then, Chinese Americans do not view themselves as direct victims of verbal abuse by White males, but they do perceive other Chinese Americans as the victims of such treatment.

Hispanics, on the other hand, may have directly experienced more personal verbal abuse from White males, but they have not perceived other Hispanics as having received such treatment. It is also possible that generally perceived and personally experienced reports of discrimination differ because responses about oneself are not always reported the same as they are for responses about similar others (Liska, 1975). Because of the differences in measurement for male discriminators, not only between the Hispanic and Chinese questionnaires but also between the indexes for general and personal discrimination, no firm conclusions regarding these findings should yet be formulated.

Attributes. As mentioned in "Results", comparative regression analyses revealed no significant attributes for either Chinese Americans or Hispanics.

CONCLUSIONS

What are the major trends that emerged from this comparison of Chinese American perceptions of discrimination to those of Hispanics? One of the most obvious findings is that

despite civil rights efforts, discrimination has not gone away; it is affecting Chinese Americans and Hispanics in multiple direct and indirect ways. Particularly for Chinese Americans who are often referred to as "the model minority," it is falsely complacent to assume that they are no longer the victims of discrimination.

One of the most disturbing findings is that both Chinese Americans and Hispanics linked the familiar context of work with experiences of discrimination. Because the employment setting coincides with perceptions of offensive treatment, the implication is that serious obstacles exist to mutually satisfactory interpersonal relationships between members of these minorities and their White co-workers. The fact that both groups associated work with offensive treatment is a strong indication of the need for cultural awareness training programs in the workplace.

Both Hispanics and Chinese Americans identified White males as more likely discriminators than White females. This finding is indicative of the power structure of American society. Because White males are in a better position to dominate, they are also in a better position to oppress. If our society moves more toward androgyny (Bem, 1974), perhaps male perpetrated discrimination will decline.

Ways of speaking were cited by both Chinese Americans and Hispanics as prime elicitors of discrimination. These perceptions of speech-related discrimination are in keeping with the author's experience as a teacher of English as a second language in that many students report being denied job promotions on the basis of their non-standard pronunciation.

> At the interpersonal level, for example, attitudes about language operate to define and reify systems of social categorization ...Most people hold strong beliefs about particular speech patterns and these in turn affect judgments about individuals and opportunities granted to them. (Kramarae, 1984: 265-266)

That both Chinese Americans and Hispanics perceive differences in race and national origins to trigger discrimination reaffirms the deep-seated nature of prejudice. To quote Rudyard Kipling:

> All good people agree,
> And all good people say,
> All nice people like Us, are We
> And everyone else is They.
> (Kipling, 1926: 327-328)

The comparison of Chinese American and Hispanic perceptions of discrimination was, of course, not without its limitations. First, as mentioned, earlier, there were certain differences in measurement between the two studies, as well as differences in measurement between personally experienced and generally

perceived communication discrimination. Future research should strive to align these two measures.

There is also much room for refinement in subsequent studies. While useful descriptively, the breakdown of communication discrimination into four dimensions may have resulted in variables that were too simplistic. A next step would be to combine strong elements of each dimension with strong elements of the other dimensions. For example, instead of asking respondents separately whether they feel (1) verbally insulted, (2) discriminated against by males, (3) insulted because of the way they speak, and (4) discriminated against at work, ask them:

> Do you feel white males discriminate against you at work because of the way you speak?

Such a format might coincide more with respondents' actual global perceptions of discrimination.

Another limitation is that, similar to the Hispanic study, the Chinese American study was restricted to interactions only between two ethnic groups (Chinese Americans and Whites). Subsequent studies should explore the possible communication discrimination between Chinese Americans and other ethnic/cultural groups. Furthermore, future studies may want to focus on the neglected perceptions of primarily Chinese-speaking Chinese Americans or primarily Spanish-speaking Hispanics whose experiences of discrimination undoubtedly differ in many respects from members of these ethnic groups who are primarily English-speaking.

Due to the entrenchment of social prejudice and discrimination, cross-cultural awareness programs are needed not only in the workplace as mentioned earlier, but, more crucially, they must be implemented in the first stages of education. To end the cycle of discrimination, children should be exposed early to programs that emphasize appreciation of and respect for the cultures which together shape this country.

FIGURE ONE

HISPANIC AND CHINESES AMERICAN INDEXES AFTER FACTOR ANALYSIS

	Hispanics	Chinese Americans
Contexts:	Public Places Personal Contexts	Contexts
Discriminators:	SES* of Discriminators Younger vs. Older Males vs. Females	Higher SES Lower SES Males Females Youth Adults
Attributes:	Ethnic Attributes	Ethnicity Public Image Gender (male)
Behaviors:	General Discrimination	Verbal Insults Alienating Behaviors Active Rejection Social Exclusion

*Social Economic Status

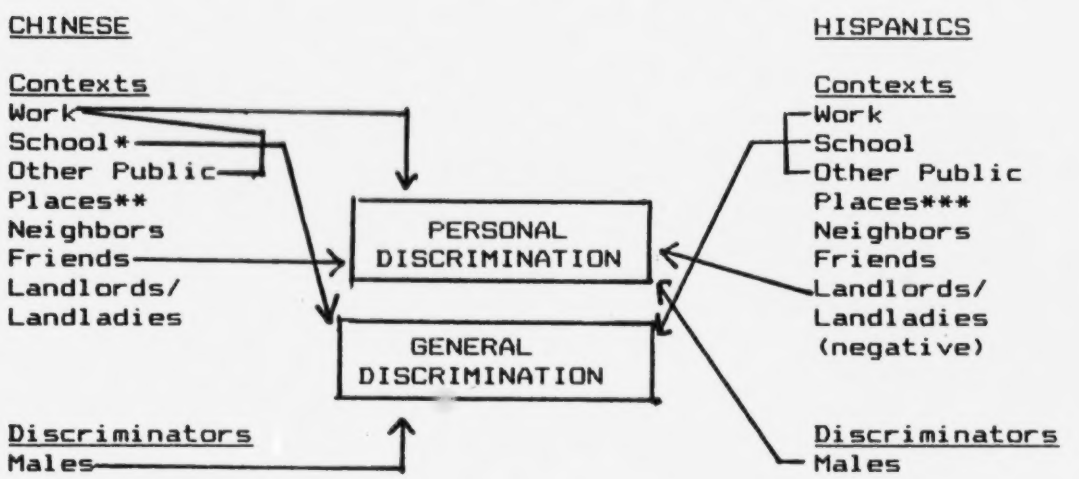
FIGURE 2

COMPARISON OF STRONGEST ELEMENTS IN CHINESE AMERICAN AND HISPANIC PERCEPTIONS OF DISCRIMINATION

VARIABLES	CHINESE	HISPANIC
Contexts		
Work	x	x
School	x	x
Other Public Places	x	
Friends		
Neighbors		
Landlords/Landladies	x	x
Discriminators		
Males	x	x
Younger	x	x
Older	x	
Richer	x	x
Poorer	x	
Educated		x
Uneducated	x	
Attributes		
Skin Color		
Race	x	x
National Origin	x	x
Ways of Speaking	x	x
Dress		
Behaviors		
Make fun of ...		x
Tell ethnic or racial jokes about ...		x
Exclude socially/Exclude from activities		
Treat as inferior/Show little respect for	x	x
Call racist names/Make comments about ethnic origins		

FIGURE 3

COMPARISON OF SIGNIFICANT CONTEXTS, DISCRIMINATORS, ATTRIBUTES INFLUENCING CHINESE AMERICAN AND HISPANIC PERCEPTIONS OF DISCRIMINATORY BEHAVIORS



*significant at p=.059
**significant at p=.074 for personal discrimination
***significant at p=.060

TABLE 1

COMPARISONS OF MEANS BETWEEN CHINESE AMERICAN RESPONDENTS AND HISPANIC RESPONDENTS

VARIABLES	MEANS	
CONTEXTS	CHINESE	HISPANIC
At Work	1.3	1.1
At School	1.2	1.0
Other Public Places	1.4	0.8
As Neighbors	0.9	0.9
As Friends	0.8	0.6
As Landlords/Landladies	1.1	1.1
ATTRIBUTES		
Skin Color	1.7	1.7
Race	2.2	2.0
National Origins	2.0	2.0
Ways of Speaking	2.3	2.1
Dress	1.5	1.5
BEHAVIORS		
Make fun of ...	1.2	1.5
Tell ethnic or racial jokes about...	1.2	1.5
Exclude socially/Exclude from activities	1.2	1.3
Treat as inferior/Show little respect for	1.4	1.4
Call racist names/Make comments about ethnic origins	1.1	1.3

TABLE 2

LOADINGS OF CONFIRMATORY PRINCIPLE FACTOR ANALYSIS
LIMITED TO THE EXTRACTION OF ONE FACTOR
OF BEHAVIORS AS PERCEIVED BY CHINESE AMERICANS

BEHAVIOR	FACTOR 1
Confuse Chinese with other Asian minorities	.35
Exclude Chinese socially	.52
Call Chinese racist names	.69
Make fun of Chinese	.71
Treat Chinese as foreigners	.72
Try to take advantage of Chinese for being "unassertive"	.60
Treat Chinese as inferior	.73
Tell ethnic or racial jokes about Chinese	.63
Physically attack Chinese	.57
Treat Chinese as untrustworthy	.72
Make it difficult for Chinese to get job promotions	.55

TABLE 3
COMPARISON OF STANDARDIZED PARTIAL MULTIPLE REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS PREDICTING PERSONAL AND GENERAL COMMUNICATION DISCRIMINATION AS PERCEIVED BY CHINESE AMERICANS AND HISPANICS

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES OR INDEXES	BETA COEFFICIENTS PREDICTING PERSONAL DISCRIM. Chinese	Hispanics	GENERAL DISCRIM. Chinese	Hispanics
Work	.19[a]	.20	.17[a]	.27[a]
School	.02	.13	.15[b]	.28[a]
Public Places	.16[c]	.13	.18[a]	.18[d]
Neighbors	-.14	-.16	.10	.11
Friends	.45[a]	-.14	.14	.15
Landlords/Landladies	-.10	-.34[a]	.07	.03
SES of Discriminator[1]	High: .03 Low: .06	.08	High: .00 Low: .05	.08
Youth/Age of Disc.[2]	.00	-.08	-.14	.06
Gender[3]	M: .04 F: .10	.29[a]	M: .29[a] F: .13	.05
Ethnic Attributes	.07	.06	.15	.07
Public Image	-.01	.11	.12	.07
CONTROL VARIABLES OR INDEXES				
Sex	.01	.08	-.03	.10
Income	.14	-.01	.00	-.00
Education	-.00	-.14	-.04	-.02
Years in U.S.	-.09	-.12	.12	.05
Age	-.10	.22	-.19	.04
Married (yes)	.13	-.05	.12	-.05
Language Dependency[4]	.03	.11	-.06	.10

[1]Hispanic questionnaire in the direction of "rich rather than poor" and [2]"with higher rather than lower education".
[3]Hispanic questionnaire in the direction of "younger rather than older".
[4]Hispanic questionnaire in the direction of "males rather than females".
[4]English dependency for Chinese, Spanish dependency for Hispanics.

[a]$p \leq .05$ [b]$p = .059$ [c]$p = .074$ [d]$p = .060$

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